

JUNE 6, 1964

This Week

MAGAZINE...SPECIAL STORY EDITION

CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

KEEPSAKE ISSUE



Upset of the century: Harry Truman's whistle-stop tour led to a stunning surprise victory in 1948. See page 9.

How Presidents Are Made

SIX CAMPAIGNS TO REMEMBER: 1. Adams vs. Jefferson, 2. Lincoln vs. Douglas,

3. Cleveland vs. Blaine, 4. Hoover vs. Roosevelt, 5. Truman vs. Dewey, 6. Kennedy vs. Nixon.

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WORDS TO LIVE BY

A nation which does not remember what it was yesterday, does not know what it is today, nor what it is trying to do. We are trying to do a futile thing if we do not know where we came from or what we have been about.

— WOODROW WILSON



The Making of Presidents

The American Presidential race, held every four years since George Washington's day, is the supreme test of our political way of life.

These national contests — milestones in the march of democracy — are often marked by bitterness and bigotry, heartbreak and humor, but always by the individual desire to win and become a part of history.

On the following pages **THIS WEEK** offers, in words and memorable paintings, six great Presidential campaigns that reveal the drama, the temper of the times and the men who, out of whatever inner drive, sought the highest office in the world.

— THE EDITORS

June 7, 1964



The National Sunday Magazine

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President and Chairman
WILLIAM I. NICHOLS
Editor and Publisher

This Week

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White Lilacs and Roses—MANET

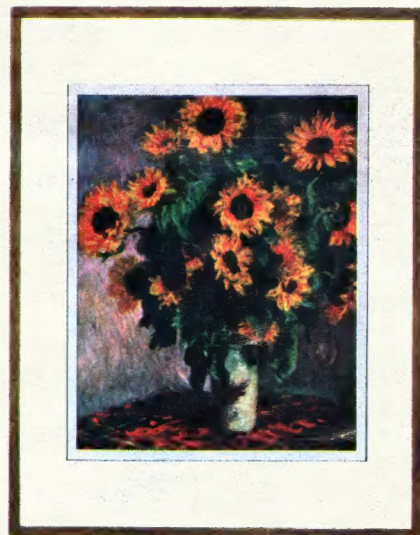
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Pierre Renoir's (1841-1919) "A Large Vase of Flowers" delicate toned spring nosegays are as reminiscent of a Dutch still life as the delft vase in which they are placed.

Sensuous "Sunflowers" were created in characteristic short strokes by Claude Monet (1840-1926). A sunburst of orange and yellow flowers are set off by masses of green leaves, in a white vase that stands on a red cloth.

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(1) When the votes were counted in Philadelphia in 1796 it was up to Vice-President John Adams to tell the electors who the new President was — John Adams

(2) Standing in the office of the "Springfield Journal" Lincoln received the news of his 1860 nomination — and took the telegram home to show his wife, Mary



Six Campaigns to Remember

Forty-four Presidential campaigns have been waged since George Washington's time.

For different reasons, these six are the most memorable

BY RICHARD HARRITY

Illustrated by Noel Sickles

(1)

Adams vs. Jefferson

The cherished tradition of personal abuse in Presidential campaigns was firmly established in 1796, when for the first time candidates from two different parties ran against each other.

The burden of attack by the newly formed Democratic-Republican Party, forerunner of the present Democratic Party, against the Federalists, in office for eight years, was, *"Turn the Rascals Out."* The main rascal was George Washington, who was denounced as a *"Dictator"* with one Philadelphia newspaper charging, *"If ever a nation was debauched by a man, the American nation was debauched by Washington."* Even John Adams, Washington's Vice-President for two terms, referred to The Father of His Country as *"an old muttonhead."*

Adams, a conservative with monarchical leanings, who felt *"there never was a democracy that did not commit suicide,"* and believed the country should be ruled by *"the rich, the well-born and the capable,"* was the Federalist candidate.

Thomas Jefferson, an aristocrat who respected the rights and the power of the people, advocated *"a system by which every trace would be eradicated of ancient or future aristocracy; and a foundation laid for a government truly Republican."*

The main issue of the campaign was the Jay Treaty with Great Britain. Washington's envoy, John Jay, was a dimwitted diplomat who found himself so enthralled by English elegance and eloquence that he made concessions damaging to various American interests. Jefferson's party labeled the Jay Treaty *"the death warrant of American liberty"* and Andrew Jackson of Tennessee clamored for Washington's impeachment.

The campaign started on September 19 with the publication of Washington's Farewell Address.

This was immediately characterized by the Democrats as a *"campaign document"* favoring Federalist Adams, and the mud-slinging was on.

Alexander Hamilton, another staunch Federalist, attacked Jefferson as a *"concealed voluptuary . . . in the plain garb of Quaker simplicity."*

Tart and testy Adams, nicknamed *"His Rotundity"* by the jeering Jeffersonians, was belted by brickbats from friends and foes alike. James McHenry said, *"Whether sportful, playful, witty, kind, cold, drunk, sober, angry, easy . . . [he] is so always in the wrong place and to the wrong person."*

In the midst of the campaign another country was heard from. The Jeffersonians favored France, then at war with Great Britain. M. Adet, the new French minister, released copies of his notes to Secretary of State Pickering praising Jefferson. This foreign intervention in U.S. politics created a sensation, boomeranging against Jefferson.

To offset this ill-advised French assist, Jefferson's stump speakers reminded voters of the *"Whiskey Rebellion"* of 1794 when Federalist Alexander Hamilton persuaded Washington to send 15,000 militia into Western Pennsylvania to force farmers to pay a tax on their moonshine whiskey.

The 16 states of the Union voted in two different ways. In six states, the two parties nominated electoral candidates and the people made their choices by popular vote. In the 10 other states, the state legislatures appointed electors and instructed them.

But the fact that each elector was given two ballots caused a confusing development. The two ballots were supposed to enable the electors to vote for both a President and a Vice-President. However, no distinction was made on the ballots.

Hamilton, perhaps the first big political wheel-er and dealer, sought to block Jefferson even from the Vice-Presidency by urging the Federalist electors to vote for Adams and Thomas Pinckney, another Federalist candidate. But the plan miscarried. The electoral vote was split between the two Federalist candidates. One voter vigorously expressed his irritation over the ambiguous system. *"Do I chuse Samuel Miles to determine for me whether John Adams or Thomas Jefferson shall be President? No. I chuse him to act, not to think."*

The electors met in Philadelphia and their votes were tallied in the Senate with Vice-President Adams presiding. When the count was completed Adams informed the electors, *"The person who has 71 votes, which is the highest number, is elected President, and the person who has 68 votes, which is the next highest number, is elected Vice-President."*

Adams then sat down, and after a very brief pause, jumped right up again and solemnly declared, *"In obedience to the Constitution and the laws of the United States . . . I declare that John Adams is elected President of the United States."*

Jefferson, the Democrat, who received 68 votes, was elected Vice-President, marking the first and only time that two candidates for these two top offices represented different parties.

At Adams' Inauguration, retiring President Washington received all the hurrahs, and the new President was practically forgotten. Adams wrote to his wife Abigail: *"He (Washington) seemed to enjoy a triumph over me. Methought I heard him say, 'Ay! I am fairly out and you fairly in! See which one of us will be the happiest!'"*

(2)

Lincoln vs. Douglas

When the Republican Party won the Presidential election of 1860 the United States of America became *"a house divided against itself."*

The tragic problem of free labor vs. slavery had been sharply defined in the off-year election of 1858, when a little-known lawyer named Abraham Lincoln from Springfield, Ill., (TO PAGE 6)

(FROM PAGE 5) was nominated by the fledgling Republican Party to contest the Senatorial seat of Stephen A. Douglas. Douglas was one of the most important political figures in the U.S., and by way of added piquancy, a former suitor for the hand of Lincoln's wife Mary Todd. Lincoln and Douglas engaged in a series of debates that captured the attention of the country.

Lincoln, speaking at Springfield, had declared: "A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half-slave and half-free. . . . I do not expect the House to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other."

Then in the debate at Freeport, Lincoln maneuvered Douglas into making a statement about the Dred Scott decision by which the Supreme Court had held in effect that once a slave, always a slave. Douglas, speaking to an anti-slavery audience, said, "Slavery cannot exist a day or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local police regulations. . . . Hence no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court may be on that abstract question, still the right of the people to make a Slave Territory or a Free Territory is perfect and complete."

This reluctant recognition by Douglas of the popular-sovereignty concept won him re-election as the Senator from Illinois, but fatally antagonized the South. In commenting on his own defeat, Lincoln accurately said, "It is a slip and not a fall."

The debates with Douglas gained Lincoln a national reputation. Two years later at the Republican Convention in Chicago he became a contender for the Presidential nomination against several better-known candidates, including Salmon P. Chase, the first Republican Governor of Ohio, William H. Seward, former Governor of New York, and Edward Bates of Missouri.

As Lincoln's campaign managers prepared to make deals with other State delegations, he sent them a telegram from Springfield: "I authorize no bargains, and will be bound by none."

But Judge David Davis, who had ridden the law circuit with Lincoln and was one of his chief supporters, did make a deal with the Pennsylvania delegation. That State agreed to vote for Lincoln provided that Simon Cameron, a Pennsylvanian, would be appointed Secretary of the Treasury if the Republican Party won the election. It was understood that Pennsylvania would not shift its support to Lincoln until after the first ballot.

On the first ballot Seward received 173½ votes against 102 for Lincoln. On the second ballot Pennsylvania came in and Lincoln trailed Seward by only 3½ votes. On the third ballot Lincoln took the lead. He now needed 1½ votes to gain the nomination. His victory was assured when David Cartter of the Ohio delegation rose to his feet, and, with a stutter that sustained the suspense, announced that his state was shifting four votes to Lincoln.

Lincoln received the news of his nomination in the offices of the "Springfield Journal" in a telegram from his friend Knapp: "Abe, we did it. Glory to God."

Lincoln looked at the telegram for a moment, then said, "I reckon there is a little short woman down at our house that would like to hear the news."

And with the telegram still in his hand, the lanky Presidential candidate of the Republican Party ambled down the street to his home.

The Democratic Convention at Charleston,

S. C., turned into a bitter battleground between the Southern, Northern and Western segments of the Party that traced its origin to the man who had once written that "All men are created equal . . . endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. . . . Life, Liberty and the pursuit of happiness." The Southerners threatened to bolt the Democratic Party if the other delegations did not support their stand in support of slavery.

The violent debate over the platform raged for days. When a minority report which favored the position of the North on slavery was finally adopted, delegates from the Southern states walked out of the Convention. One pro-slavery supporter uttered this prophecy, "... Go your way and we will go ours. But the South leaves not . . . friendless and alone, for in 60 days you will find a United South standing shoulder to shoulder."

The disrupted Democratic Convention continued, but after 57 ballots, Douglas still could not command a two-thirds majority. The Convention was adjourned and reconvened in Baltimore. There Douglas was finally named standard bearer of the Northern wing of his divided party.

Southern Democrats also met again, and adopted a platform that would protect slavery in the territories. John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky was picked as their candidate for the Presidency.

Then to complicate the confusion, a fourth party, made up of remnants of the Whig Party and the anti-foreign-born Know-Nothings, was born. Called the Constitutional Union, it named John Bell of Tennessee as its candidate for the Presidency.

So the Presidential race began with two Democratic candidates, representing the North and the South; a Constitutional Union candidate dedicated to maintaining the status quo; and one Republican.

Lincoln's log-cabin and rail-splitting background were stressed, and his "house divided against itself" beliefs were soft-pedaled by the Republicans. The Northern Democrats, in a desperate effort to win some Southern support for Douglas, emphasized their candidate's stand, "I do not care whether slavery is voted up or down." The Southern Democrats blasted both Douglas and Lincoln while the Constitutional Union Party meekly preached peace at any price.

Lincoln stayed in Springfield during the entire campaign. Trying not to antagonize the South, he did not make a single political speech. Nevertheless, voters from surrounding states poured in to visit him and his supporters in the East formed themselves into groups called the "WIDE-AWAKES." Wearing black enameled capes and military caps they marched through the streets of Eastern cities in campaign parades.

Douglas, on the other hand, waged an active campaign. Even venturing into the South, he declared that if the Democrats did not win the election the South would surely secede from the Union. He, too, had uninformed supporters. One club in Brooklyn was formed with the avowed purpose of taking care of Lincoln's WIDE-AWAKES—they named themselves "THE CHLOROFORMERS."

At the end of the razzle-dazzle campaign Lincoln received 1,866,452 votes against 1,376,957 for Douglas, 849,781 for Breckinridge and 588,879 for Bell. The lawyer from Springfield was elected sixteenth President of the still United States.

On the day before he was to depart for Washington Lincoln called on William Herndon, his law partner, to say good-by. He said, "If I live, I

am coming back sometime, and then we will go right on practicing law as if nothing had ever happened."

Next day when his friends and neighbors gathered at the Springfield railroad station to wish him Godspeed, Lincoln said, "Today I leave you to assume a task more difficult than that which devolved upon General Washington. Unless the great God who assisted him shall be with and aid me, I must fail. But if the same omniscient mind . . . that directed . . . him shall guide and support me, I shall not fail; I shall succeed. Friends, one and all, I must now bid you an affectionate farewell."

Two months later, on April 12, 1861, Confederate batteries fired on Fort Sumter.

In Washington Lincoln preached "Malice toward none and charity for all," and at Gettysburg he pledged "that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom; and that this government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

Lincoln never returned to his law practice nor to his home in Springfield. But, in the words of the Battle Hymn of the Republic, "Glory, Glory, Halleluah, his truth is marching on."

(3)

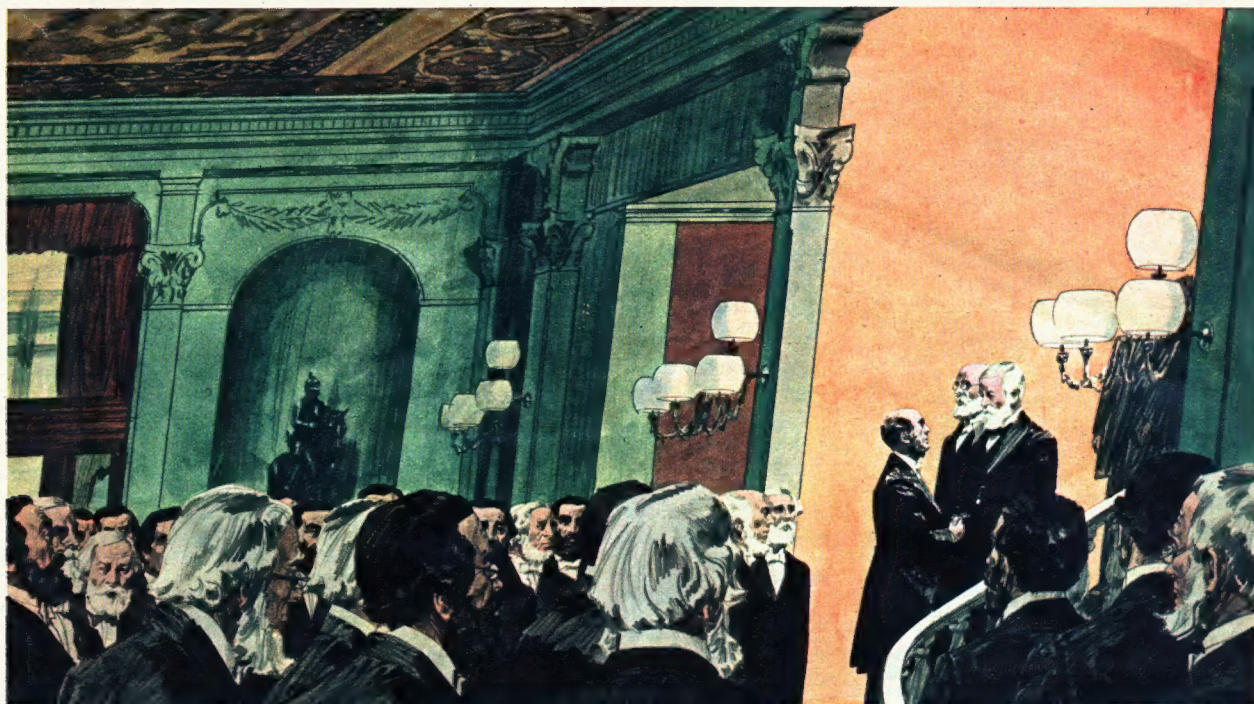
Cleveland vs. Blaine

At its outset, the race for the Presidency in 1884 promised to be a tame affair. The Republicans had been in power since the Civil War, the country was booming, and there were hardly any issues. On the two biggest, tariff and civil service, both parties were badly split.

The Republicans assembled in Chicago, the chaplain prayed that the campaign might be "conducted with that decency, intelligence, patriotism and dignity of temper which become a free and intelligent people." Though nobody suspected it, that chaplain was in for a serious disappointment.

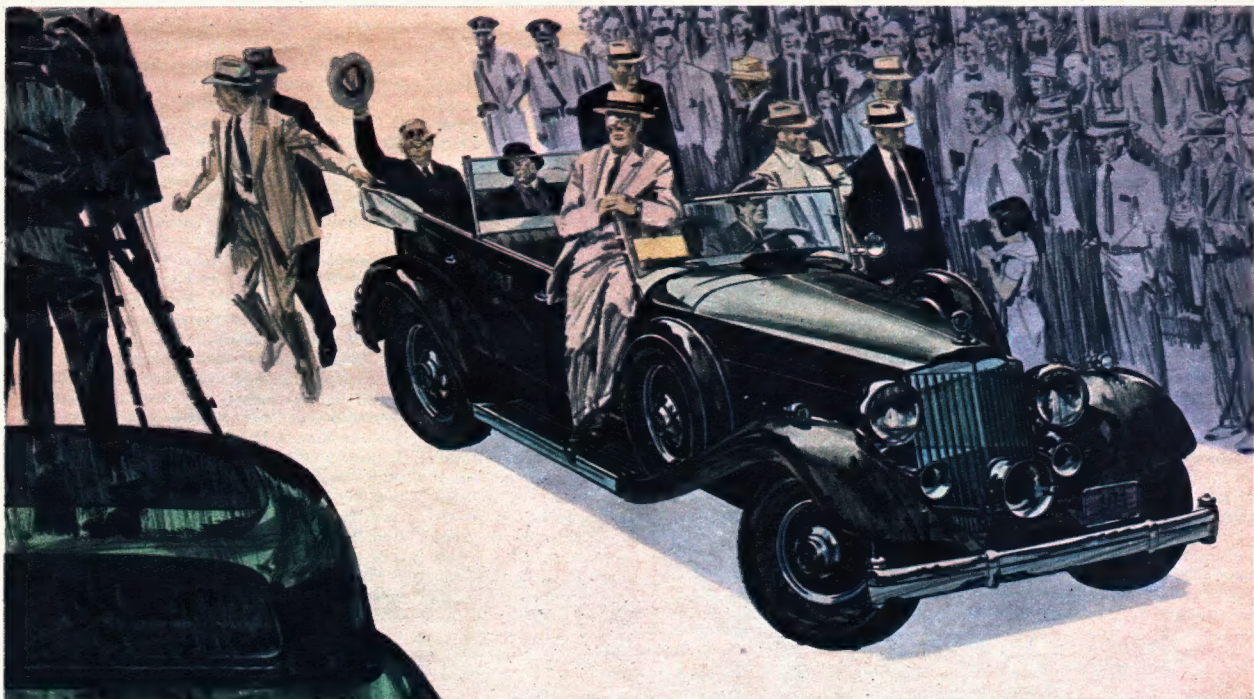
The leading candidate for the Presidential nomination on the Republican ticket was James G. Blaine of Maine. Blaine's name had been placed before two previous Republican conventions. In 1876, Robert G. Ingersoll, the well-known agnostic, had likened him to a "plumed knight" aiming his shining lance "full and fair against the brazen forehead of every traitor to his country and every maligner of his fair reputation." But despite this purple oratory Blaine had lost the nomination in 1876 and again in 1880, and he was determined to do or die in a crucial third try. His candidacy threw the Republican convention into a "mass meeting of maniacs," as his opponents tried to block him from the very moment the chaplain ended his prayer. This time a fierce fight was provoked, a fight over the temporary chairmanship of the convention, with the Blaine forces plumping for ex-Governor Powell Clayton of Arkansas while the anti-Blaine faction fought for John R. Lynch, a Negro delegate from Mississippi. A bitter floor fight devel-

(TO PAGE 8)



(3) The campaign of 1884 had been hard and dirty, and James G. Blaine may have been too tired to realize what the New York minister's blunder would do

(4) FDR waved his old felt hat and smiled through his up-tilted cigarette holder — and put fresh heart into the Depression-weary voters of 1932 Story on page 8



FROM PAGE 5) oped and resulted in an early triumph for the anti-Blaine forces, Lynch being named temporary chairman.

This time, when Blaine's name was proposed, a fierce opposition was stirred, though an effusive Blaine advocate assured the assemblage, "*Nominate him and the campfires and beacon lights will illuminate the continent from the Golden Gate to Cleopatra's Needle; nominate him and the millions who are now waiting will rally to swell the column of victory that is sweeping on.*"

Following one of the wildest demonstrations in convention history, climaxed by the appearance of a helmet festooned with a large white plume, which was rushed up to the speakers' platform, James G. Blaine from the State of Maine became the standard bearer of the Grand Old Party.

The convention of the even older Democratic Party also quickly developed into a Donnybrook. A group of disgruntled Republican reformers who regarded Blaine as a corrupt Congressman who had "*wallowed in spoils like a rhinoceros in an African pool*" indicated to Democratic leaders that they would bolt their own party and support a Democrat, provided he was a decent and honorable man. A Democratic candidate who was thought to meet these qualifications was Grover Cleveland, Governor of New York. Cleveland had started his career as sheriff of Erie County, where he personally hanged two murderers to spare the sensitivities of his subordinates. He had been known as the "*beet*" Mayor of Buffalo for resolutely balking political grafters, and as Governor of the Empire State, had fought the Tammany Tiger tooth and claw. He was acceptable to the decent Democrats and to the Republican reformers but was persona non grata to the Sachems of the Sons of St. Tammany.

When Cleveland's name was put in nomination, Edward S. Bragg of Wisconsin, aiming a barb at Tammany, stated, "*We love him for the enemies he has made.*" A member of Tammany sprang up and roared back, "*On behalf of his enemies I reciprocate the sentiment.*" But on the second ballot Grover Cleveland, the man who couldn't be bought and who wore no man's collar, was nominated as the Presidential candidate of the party founded by Thomas Jefferson.

This was the prologue to the political joust between James G. Blaine, the Plumed Knight and Grover the Good, as Cleveland was hailed by his followers, and it was the dirtiest Presidential campaign in our political annals.

It wasn't long before the mud began to fly. The Democrats revived their claim that Blaine had sold his influence in Congress to business interests with a dramatic piece of evidence: letters from a Boston bookkeeper named James Mulligan which indicated that Blaine had benefitted handsomely from services rendered to the Little Rock and Fort Smith Railroad in saving a valuable land grant. Blaine had put a damning postscript on one of these incriminating letters addressed to Warren Fisher, a business friend, which read: "*Kind regards to Mrs. Fisher. Burn this letter.*"

The bolting Republicans were called the Mugwumps, from an Algonquian Indian word which means Chief, adopted this postscript and set it to music to help them keep in step when they marched in procession for Cleveland, chanting —

"Burn this letter! Burn this letter!
Kind regards to Mrs. Fisher!"

The regular Democrats in their demonstrations,

however, preferred their own marching song which went —

"Blaine! Blaine! James G. Blaine!
The Continental liar from the State of Maine!"

Then suddenly on July 21, 1884, the Buffalo "Evening Telegraph" dealt Grover the Good a devastating blow. Under the headline, "A TERRIBLE TALE," the newspaper revealed that the Democratic candidate had wooed a widow named Maria Halpin and that as a result of this illicit affair an illegitimate child had been born, who was christened Oscar Folsom Cleveland.

When Cleveland heard that his secret had been exposed, he told his campaign manager: "*Whatever you say, tell the truth.*" It was a manful attitude, but it didn't undo the fatal breach of morals.

Parading Republicans now had their own roundelay to roar, and it was a beaut:

"Ma! Ma! Where's my pa?
Gone to the White House!
Ha! Ha! Ha!"

It didn't seem possible that the Cleveland candidacy could recover from the blow. The Republican lease on the White House seemed as good as renewed. But the political fates had another trick to play.

On October 29, just six days before the election, a conclave of Protestant clergymen was meeting at the Fifth Avenue Hotel in New York. Blaine, who had wound up his strenuous campaign tour the day before in New Jersey, had stayed overnight at the Fifth Avenue. The clergymen wanted to show their support for the Plumed Knight, and arranged to give him a short address when he descended to the lobby. The man chosen to make the speech was the Reverend Samuel Dickinson Burchard of the Houston Street Presbyterian Church. He proved to be an unlucky choice. As Blaine arrived with an aide, the Reverend Mr. Burchard welcomed him in ringing tones, promising, "*We are Republicans and don't propose to leave our party and identify ourselves with the party whose antecedents are Rum, Romanism and Rebellion. We are loyal to our flag, we are loyal to you.*"

Blaine may have been fatigued from campaigning, or just bored and not listening, for the fateful three words, "*Rum, Romanism and Rebellion,*" made no impression on him. But they did on a reporter who was present. The reporter, a Democrat, headed straight for Democratic Headquarters. The leaders there took one look at Burchard's unhappy phrase and went into action. The following Sunday as Irish-Americans filed out of Catholic Churches they were handed bills containing the phrase, attributed to Blaine himself. It was so close to Election Day that Blaine's denials were ineffective, and on Tuesday night when the ballots were counted it was found that the Plumed Knight had lost New York State by 1,149 votes. With New York went the election.

Thus Grover the Good became the 22nd President of the United States despite his fall from grace. The victorious Democrats had the last word, which they sang on high in serenading their successful candidate:

"Hurrah for Maria,
Hurrah for the kid;
We voted for Grover,
And we're damned glad we did!"

(4)

Hoover vs. Roosevelt

Since 1860 our nation has been torn by two domestic disasters — the Civil War that divided the Union and the Great Depression of the 1930's, a national tragedy with a threat of defeat for the American way of life.

The economic earthquake that first struck the United States in 1929 reached full fury three years later. Ruin or recovery was the vital issue of that Presidential campaign year. Herbert Hoover, a man of great vision and a humanitarian who had once helped feed millions in Europe after World War I, was renominated as the Presidential candidate of the Republican Party.

There were two chief contenders for the Democratic nomination: Alfred E. Smith, who had been defeated by Hoover in 1928; and the man who had twice nominated Smith, in 1924 and 1928, Franklin D. Roosevelt, now Governor of New York.

Roosevelt won on the fourth ballot when William G. McAdoo, who had fought a bitter battle with Smith eight years before, declared: "*California came here to nominate a President of the United States. She did not come to deadlock the Convention or to engage in another devastating contest like that of 1924. Therefore California casts 44 votes for FDR.*"

H. L. Mencken, who covered the Democratic convention, scoffed that it had succeeded in "*nominating the weakest candidate before it.*"

Roosevelt's victory at the convention was due in large measure to the skillful planning of Louis McHenry Howe, who had first met the candidate in Albany in 1911 and had ever since been driven by a dream — to make his friend President of the United States of America.

Shattering precedent from the start, Roosevelt was the first nominee ever to fly to a convention. He announced in Chicago, "*You have nominated me and I know it, and I am here to thank you for the honor. Let it be symbolic that in so doing I broke tradition. Let it be from now on the task of our Party to break foolish traditions.*"

The Republican platform ran to some 9,000 words but there was little that defined how to defeat the depression. Mr. Hoover as President delivered ten major addresses during the campaign holding to the basic issues, but some of the Republican campaign managers concentrated their attack on Roosevelt as a radical, with suggestions that he was also anti-Catholic, charging he had used the issue of religion to wrest the nomination from Smith. John Nance Garner, Roosevelt's running mate, was ridiculed as a political crackpot. A third target was Roosevelt's health. Roosevelt had been struck down by polio at Campobello in 1921 and he was described as a crippled candidate who might collapse under the load of responsibility a President would have to carry. James Farley, the Democratic campaign manager, took care of this charge on the radio by stating, "Goo-

error Roosevelt might be handicapped in a foot race, but in no other way need he fear comparison."

Wearing an old felt hat with a Navy cape draped across his shoulders and an up-tilted cigarette holder clenched between his teeth, Roosevelt gave proof of his endurance on a gruelling cross-country campaign tour by train, plane and auto, during which he made 27 addresses and many more whistle-stop speeches.

He was backed up by an expert team that utilized every available technique — radio broadcasts, printed literature, personal letters and long-distance phone calls to local Democratic leaders.

President Hoover was of course the victim of disastrous circumstances. He had come to power at the height of a great boom, but had fallen here to the bust following the Wall Street crash.

As Eugene Lyons said in his book, "Our Unknown Ex-President: A Portrait of Herbert Hoover": "Hoover came to the White House keyed for a supreme job of building. Instead he was obliged to patch."

Four years before it had sounded no more than reasonable when Hoover had said, "We in America today are nearer to the final triumph over poverty than ever before in the history of the land. The poorhouse is vanishing from among us."

But now in 1932 the long bread lines made a mockery of this hopeful forecast.

Hoover defended his administration by stating, "Let no man say it could not have been worse..." But ragged Americans wondered.

Hoover actually did have farsighted plans for relieving the misery and the suffering of the country, many of which were later put into successful operation. But during the heat of the campaign, the army of the unemployed wanted immediate action and were skeptical of promising phrases.

Ex-President Calvin Coolidge, campaigning for Hoover, announced, "We have advocated strengthening the position of the employer that he might pay better wages to his employees."

He was answered by a legion of hungry men, who cried, "Brother, can you spare a dime?"

Meanwhile, Roosevelt was proclaiming, "I champion the principle that the national government has a positive duty to see that no citizen shall starve."

Hoover accurately summed up the 1932 Presidential race: "This campaign is more than a contest between two men. It is a contest between two philosophies of government..."

Roosevelt had stated his philosophy from the beginning: "I pledge you, I pledge myself to a New

Deal for the American people... This is more than a political campaign; it is a call to arms."

The American people watched and waited and listened while fear hung darkly over the country. Wherever Roosevelt went he exuded confidence that struck a responsive note of hope in the hearts of those who heard him.

On the day before the election, Hoover allegedly said to an aide, "Our trouble is, we're opposed by six million unemployed, ten thousand Bonus Marchers, and ten-cent corn."

Roosevelt carried 42 states, indicating as William Allen White put it, "a firm desire on the part of the American people to use government as an agency for human welfare."

At the inauguration in 1933 the bands played a tune first introduced by Roosevelt's friend, song-and-dance man Eddie Dowling, at the Democratic Convention in Chicago. It became the theme song for the new President of the United States of America — "Happy Days Are Here Again."

As years passed, passions subsided. Hoover lived on through a lifetime of public service to become our oldest living ex-President since John Adams, respected and revered by the American people. His ninetieth birthday will be celebrated on August 10 this year.

(5)

Truman vs. Dewey

Few candidates have had so many cards stacked against them as did Harry S. Truman in 1948. He was President by act of God, not by election. His party had been in power for 16 years and many people thought it was time for a change. Worse, the party was badly split. Henry Wallace, who had lost the Vice-Presidential nomination to Truman in 1944, announced that he was running for President at the head of his own newly created Progressive Party. This was a left-wing group; on the right there was trouble too. Truman's strong stand on civil rights provoked several Southern states to bolt the Democratic Party and form their own "Dixiecrat" Party, with Governor Strom Thurmond of South Carolina as their candidate. Labor was cool to Truman because of his threat to draft the strikers to break a railroad strike.

At the Democratic convention, one delegate displayed a sign reading, "I'm just mild about Harry." Republican Chairman Reece gleefully greeted Truman's candidacy with the quip that it struck the nation "with the terrific impact of a poached egg on a featherbed." And the Democratic "New York Post" announced, "The Party might as well immediately concede the election to Dewey and save the wear and tear of campaigning."

The Republican candidate was Thomas E. Dewey, who had made a strong race against Roosevelt in 1944, and had every reason to feel confident of victory this time. "Fortune" maga-

zine predicted: "The prospects of Republican victory are now so overwhelming that an era of what will amount to one party may well impend."

In contrast to the well-filled Republican campaign coffers, the only thing in the Democratic treasury was emptiness. Prominent party members ducked out in droves when asked to assume the post of financial chairman. Truman, as had been predicted by the Alsop brothers, would be "forced to wage the loneliest campaign in recent history." When he appeared in Omaha for a speaking engagement in early June, the huge auditorium was so sparsely filled that a photo was gleefully published all over the country by the Republicans.

Truman doggedly set out on his campaign on September 17. As he climbed aboard his campaign car at Union Station, Washington, his running mate, Alben W. Barkley of Kentucky, encouraged him: "Mow 'em down!"

"I'm going to give 'em hell!" Truman snapped back, and steamed off on the most extensive whistle-stop wing-ding in our political history. Wherever the Truman train stopped, by a lonely water tower on the plains, or a little depot in the Far

West, the people listened, laughed and applauded as the Democratic candidate ridiculed the Republicans and ripped into them as "gluttons of privilege," "Do-Nothings" and "blood-suckers with offices in Wall Street."

Aboard the Dewey campaign train, "Victory Special," the Republican candidate repeatedly emphasized the party theme: A Republican President backed by a Republican Congress alone could bring the country unity.

Truman responded: "We don't believe in the unity of slaves, or the unity of sheep being led to the slaughter. We don't believe in unity under the rule of big business... and we shall fight it to the end."

In a poll of fifty political pundits everyone prophesied that Truman would lose. Railroads even threatened to sidetrack Truman's campaign train unless the Democratic Party paid its transportation bills, and he was sometimes cut off the air in mid-sentence due to insufficient funds to buy additional radio time. He was decidedly Low Man on the Gallup Poll, and hardly anybody conceded him a chance — except Harry S. Truman.

Meanwhile, the supremely self-assured Republican candidate was saying, "On January 20 we will enter upon a new era. We propose to install in Washington an administration which has faith in the American people, a warm understanding of their needs, and the confidence to meet them."

Shortly afterwards at Beaucoup, Ill., Dewey's campaign train suddenly backed up, dangerously missing a crowd waiting to hear him speak. Discovering there was no one injured, Dewey sought to calm the crowd, which was close to panic. "That's the first lunatic I've had for an engineer," he said jokingly. "He probably should be shot at sunrise, but we'll let him off this time since no one was hurt."

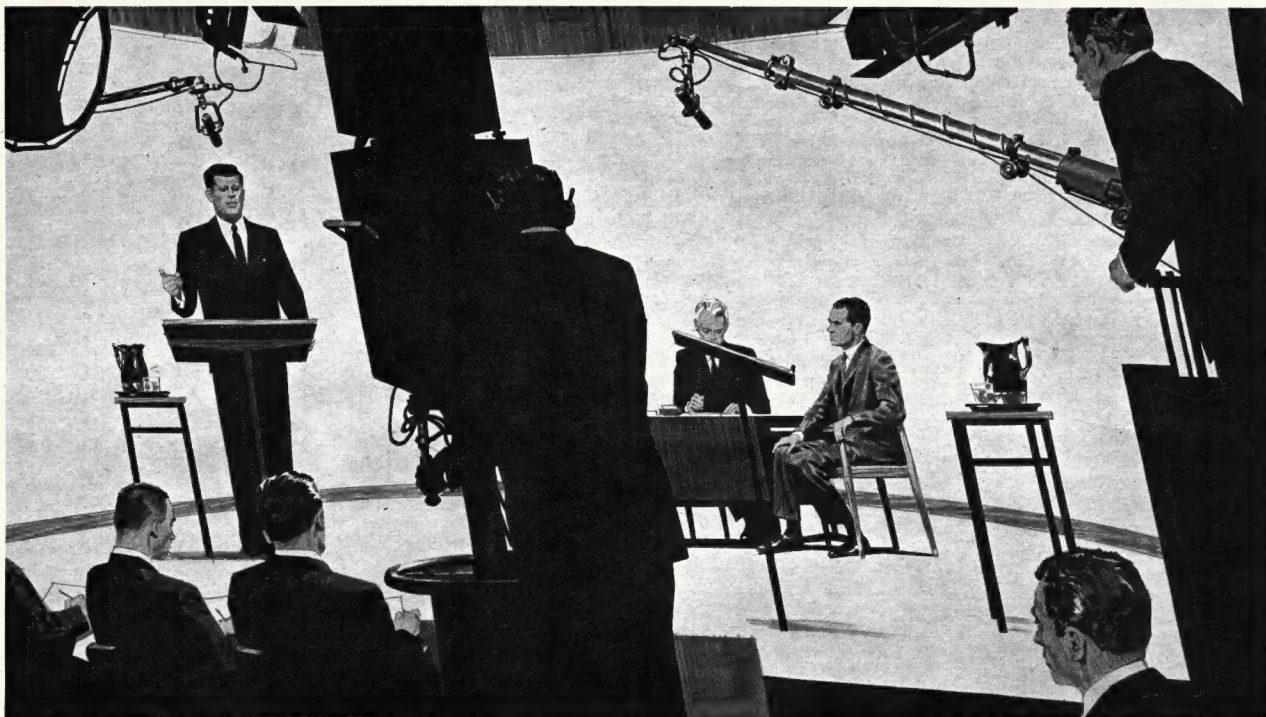
Dewey's remarks, widely quoted, hurt him with the railroad workers and labor generally.

Truman covered over 31,700 miles, and delivered 356 speeches to 15 million

(TO PAGE 10)



Truman's whistle-stop campaign — see front cover



(6) Was it Nixon's collar — or Kennedy's coolness? Nobody will ever really know what influence the 1960 TV debates had on the people who cast the ballots

(FROM PAGE 9) people, but everybody agreed he was a loser. The "New York Times" prophesied the Republican candidate would receive 345 electoral votes; Elmo Roper announced that he stood by a poll taken months before when Dewey was leading Truman by 52 to 37 per cent of the voters polled. Drew Pearson wrote about "the closely knit group around Tom Dewey who will take over the White House 86 days from now;" and "Life" featured a full-page picture of Dewey captioned, "The next President travels by ferry boat over the broad waters of San Francisco Bay."

On Election Day night the returns didn't seem to jibe with the forecasts. But radio commentator H. V. Kaltenborn explained at midnight: "Mr. Truman is still ahead but these are returns from a few cities. When the returns come in from the country the result will show Dewey winning overwhelmingly."

A Truman aide called the President with bad news: Dewey had carried New York State. Truman merely said, "Don't call me any more. I'm going to bed. . . ." When he woke up he had won.

Dewey said later he felt like the man who awakened in a coffin with a lily in his hand and asked, "If I'm alive, what am I doing here? And if I'm dead, why do I have to go to the bathroom?"

When his train stopped at St. Louis en route back to Washington, the beaming Truman held up a copy of "The Chicago Tribune" which carried the premature headline, "Dewey Defeats Truman."

At the White House, his old buddy George Allen quipped, "I was supremely confident of your defeat." Truman grinned. "So was everybody else. But you're the first one who's admitted it."

(6)

Kennedy vs. Nixon

In a photo finish like the last Presidential race the deciding factors of victory or defeat are as mysterious as a miracle and as difficult to define as a dream. Some 68 million Americans participated, and the difference in popular vote was a tiny 116,550, about 17 hundredths of one per cent.

The chorus of "ifs" must echo in the ear and the might-have-beens must harry the mind of the candidate who came so close and yet lost.

Would the result of 1960 have been different if Richard Nixon had made a better impression in that fateful first telecast of his debates with John F. Kennedy? Nixon knew the country and the problems it faced at home and abroad. Vigorous, vital, experienced, he knew how to conduct himself and how to run a successful campaign. One of the most knowledgeable men ever to seek public office, Vice-President during eight history-making years, acting President for a stretch, he had no

reason to fear debate, yet he seemed unsure.

The smallest detail of that evening might have made the difference. If Nixon's make-up had been better, his collar a neater fit, he might have crossed that narrow line into the land of the winner. Maybe if his running mate, Henry Cabot Lodge, had not telephoned him just before the debate, reportedly warning him to avoid "the image of an assassin," Nixon would have been a bit more forceful, more in command. Maybe the chance fact that Nixon banged his knee just before the telecast cost him the election. For the millions who voted for Richard Nixon that first television debate remains a haunting "if" and a maddening "maybe."

To his credit, Nixon wanted to be his own man and conduct his campaign in his own way. Would it have changed the final result if he had sought President Eisenhower's help earlier? Ike was tremendously popular, Ike was liked, and in two Presidential elections he had rolled up a record number of votes for the Republican party and its candidates. The Old Soldier, who had lived his life by the military law "Get there fustest with the mostest," was called in late in the race. He came on strong — but if he had been called in a month earlier, could he have won a different decision from the phantom judges? That too is a question that will be debated down through the decades to explain a defeat which came so close to a victory.

John F. Kennedy had a hard road to travel on his way to the White House. He could have come a cropper at any one of several hurdles. First of all, his faith seemed to be against him, for no Roman Catholic had ever been elected Chief Exec-

utive. Only one other Catholic had been nominated to run, Alfred E. Smith, and his defeat for the Presidency in 1928 was heavily weighted by bigotry. Even the professional politicians who belonged to Kennedy's faith were opposed to him at first, feeling that both he and they would be licked before the race was even run.

How did Kennedy circumvent this attitude? Was it through bypassing the bosses and concentrating on the primaries, which he believed were "put in for a purpose, to give the people a voice . . . a far more satisfactory system than picking somebody in a hotel room in Los Angeles"?

When asked how he proposed to defeat Nixon, Kennedy replied, "In the debates." Had he accurately sized up his adversary when they first debated as Congressmen, had he detected his strengths and weaknesses and evolved a plan to defeat him? Be that as it may, Kennedy was perfectly prepared, and took the initiative.

Both men were young in years, rich in experience, intelligent and personable, yet one made a greater impression on the viewers. Again the tantalizing question: Was this the crossroads where one lane led to defeat and the other to success?

How did Kennedy overcome the unfair handicap of his faith? Was it through the candid statement he made for "Look" magazine in an article about Catholic candidates in 1960? It could have been the speech on Church and State that he delivered to the Greater Houston Ministerial Association in Texas, in which he affirmed: "Finally, I believe in an America where religious intolerance will some day end — where all men and all churches are treated as equal — where every man has the same right to attend or not attend the church of his choice — where there is no Catholic vote, no anti-Catholic vote, no bloc voting of any kind — and where Catholics, Protestants and Jews, at both the lay and the pastoral level, will refrain from those attitudes of disdain and division which have so often marred their works in the past, and promote instead the American ideal of brotherhood."

Was it that — or was it his campaign call to get America "moving again"? Did voters long to share the vision of a "New Frontier" that only he could see? Or was it simply what the old starmakers of Hollywood called "chemistry" that made 116,550 people decide for Kennedy instead of Nixon?

Probabilities, guesses and hindsight aside, John Fitzgerald Kennedy did become the 35th President of the United States of America and at his Inauguration sounded his memorable call for a new national effort: "Ask not what your country can do for you — ask what you can do for your country." It was an ideal which tragically outlived its author. (THE END)

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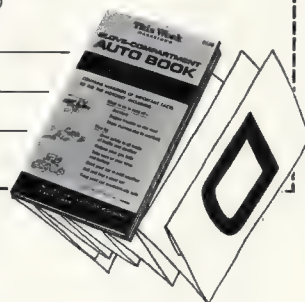
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How America Eats BY CLEMENTINE PADDLEFORD

A State's First Lady Cooks



Fred Ward

Maryland's governor's wife
specializes in old-time cookery, like this oven-fried chicken

A recipe booklet, just 26 recipes, was used as a piece of campaign literature to help elect J. Millard Tawes to the Governorship of Maryland in 1958. His wife Helen Avalynne, a collector of traditional Eastern Shore dishes, had for years been experimenting with "hand downs," putting the ingredients into correct measurements, with pan sizes and temperatures that are useable in modern kitchens. These tested dishes she served at her home table especially when company was coming.

Friends invariably asked for the recipes. Tired of copy work, Mrs. Tawes had a hand-out booklet printed. During her husband's campaign for Governor, it was suggested she send this little recipe book to influential Democratic Party women around the state. Some 12,000 booklets were given out. Those in the know insist that the old Maryland recipes paved the Tawes' way to Government House.

Helen Avalynne Gibson was married at 17, "And I have been a Maryland homemaker ever since," she said. She had a normal Eastern Shore girl's knowledge of cooking, "I got it the way most girls do, by inheritance. My mother, Minerva Amerinth Gibson, knew the old recipes. She taught them to me."

Mrs. Tawes' booklet success encouraged her to keep on with her recipe testing. She collected Eastern Shore recipes from old books and old friends. Her collection grew to over 500 recipes and most of these dishes she has served to the world's great.

This year Mrs. Tawes found a publisher. More honestly, a publisher found her and her collection appears now in a

hard-cover book, "My Favorite Maryland Recipes" (Random House, \$3.95). In one chapter she details 30 complete menus which she has served at Government House: breakfast on Inauguration Day, a formal dinner given in honor of the Admiral of the U.S. Naval Academy, a dinner served to Sen. John F. Kennedy when he was campaigning for the Presidential nomination.

Here is her recipe for Oven-Fried Chicken, one of the state's proudest culinary productions. The Crab Soup is Governor Tawes' favorite of all soups.

CRAB SOUP

1 can (1 pound) lump crab meat
1 quart milk ¼ pound butter or margarine
3 tablespoons finely chopped celery
1 tablespoon finely chopped parsley
1 teaspoon salt ¼ teaspoon pepper
6 to 8 drops hot pepper sauce 2 teaspoons flour
¼ cup water ½ cup light cream

Remove all shell pieces from crab meat. Scald milk. Add butter; stir until melted. Add crab meat, celery, parsley, salt, pepper and hot pepper sauce. Simmer for 15 minutes. Blend together flour and water. Add to hot mixture. Cook, stirring, until slightly thickened. Add cream; mix well. Simmer 20 minutes, stirring occasionally. Yield: 6 to 8 portions.

OVEN-FRIED CHICKEN

¾ pound butter or margarine ½ teaspoon salt
¼ teaspoon pepper 6 chicken breasts
2 cups oven-toasted rice cereal, crushed

Melt butter. Add salt and pepper. Dip chicken breasts in butter, then in cereal crumbs. Arrange in shallow baking pan. Bake at 350°F. for 1 hour. Yield: 6 portions. (THE END)

Land of the Free

FREE FLAG BOOKLET. In keeping with the theme of this issue, "Great Political Campaigns," we think it most appropriate to offer "Etiquette of the Stars and Stripes." This 20-page booklet details the history and symbolism of our flag and the rules for displaying and using it. For a single free copy, send a stamped, self-addressed envelope to: Americanism, Dept. TW, Veterans of Foreign Wars National Headquarters, Broadway at 34th St., Kansas City, Mo. 64111.

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NOTE: When making a request, be sure to print your name and address clearly. Allow four weeks for delivery. Sometimes supplies run out, so make your requests promptly.



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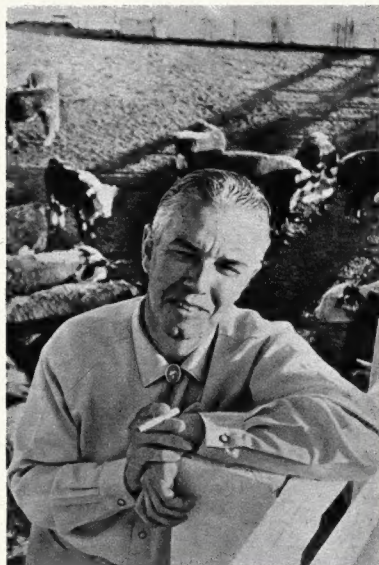
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3. Enclose \$1.00, cash, check, or money order (no stamps, please), and ONE RED LOCK TAB from Reddi-Wip can for EACH doll. Allow 3 to 4 weeks delivery. Offer ends Dec. 31, 1964. Subject to withdrawal without notice. Void where prohibited, taxed or restricted. Good only in USA.



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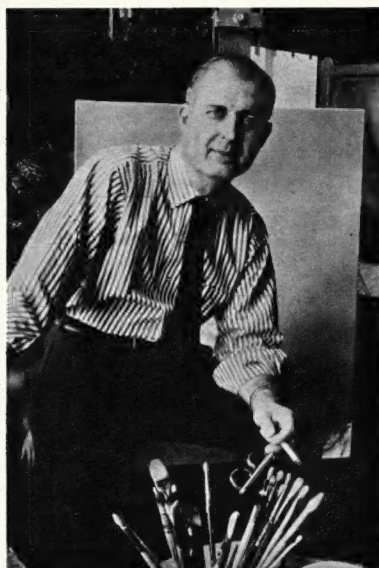
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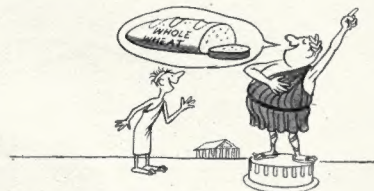
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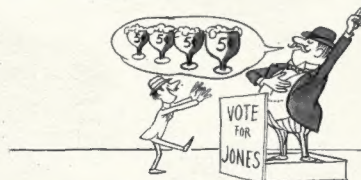
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A Funny Thing Happened

on the way to the White House



Speaking of Presidential campaigns—when Al Smith was running against Herbert Hoover, practically next door to the White House stood Cardozo High School. The Principal was named Smith, the Assistant Principal in Charge of Boys was named Hoover, and the Assistant Principal in Charge of Girls was named Coolidge!

This I learn from Mrs. Ruth Haughton of Washington, D. C., who taught there at the time.

Reader Haughton wrote me in connection with a recent column about amazing historical coincidences. And literally hundreds of other readers have written about the many astounding parallels between the deaths of our Presidents Kennedy and Lincoln, but most of the facts have been so well publicized that I shan't repeat them.

But as for Lincoln, here's a stunner that's new to me: Mrs. J. I. Johnson, of Washington, D. C., writes that several years before the mad John Wilkes Booth assassinated Lincoln at Ford's Theater, young Robert Todd Lincoln was standing on the railroad platform in Jersey City, N. J., and was accidentally jostled off by a crowd of passengers. Robert would certainly have been killed by the onrushing train if he had not been yanked back to safety by a tall, handsome man who was none other than Edwin Booth, the celebrated brother of John Booth. I'm not kidding you — there's documentary proof!



Booth
He saved a Lincoln

Stanley K. Day, of Columbia, Mo., sent in a honey: The Eiffel Tower, which was erected to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the French Revolution in 1789, has precisely — and completely by chance — 1789 steps from bottom to top!

Richard Welling, of Hartford, Conn., sends one that really makes the chills run up and down your spine. In 1898, an obscure novelist named Morgan Robertson, published a book called "Futility." It told of the maiden voyage of a great new steamship, loaded with famous people, which crashed against an iceberg in April and sank. Fourteen years later, a great steamship, loaded with Astors and such, did just that on April 10, 1912.

Robertson's imaginary ship was 70,000 tons; the real ship was 66,000 (a size

unheard of in those days). Both could carry 3,000 people but did not have sufficient lifeboats for 3,000 because both were considered **UNSAFABLE**!

And here's the final shock: The real White Star Line Ship was christened the *Titanic*. Morgan Robertson's ship, dreamed up 14 years earlier, was the *Titan*!

It's tough to top that one. But still I feel I must tell you why New England Almanacs are considered as infallible as the *Titanic* was unsinkable. I got a note from Mrs. D. R. Morrell, of Delta, Col., saying that Isaiah Thomas, a famous Massachusetts printer, was finishing up his almanac for the year 1780, and as a practical joke he predicted the weather for July 13: "Rain, hail and snow."

Well, you guessed it! For the first time in the history of New England, it rained, and then hailed, and then snowed, on July 13. This gave a tremendous lift to New England Almanacs — a reputation for accuracy that they don't really deserve, and I'm privileged to say so because I was brought up there.

And speaking of New England, here's one that struck me as the pleasantest coincidence of all, though not earth-shaking: Mr. and Mrs. Bob Soule, of Lexington, Mass., wrote me that they gave a cocktail party a year ago on June 4. Mrs. Soule got some cocktail napkins out, without realizing that they all read **HAPPY BIRTHDAY**.

This led to a lot of joking among the guests because it wasn't a birthday party at all. In fact it just happened that none of the 30 guests could claim June 4 as a birthday. Some of the guests claimed that the next arrival would be a one-in-365 chance for a Happy Birthday greeting, and other guests claimed that he'd be a one-in-335 chance, because there were already 30 birthdayless guests.

Anyway, they decided to sing **HAPPY BIRTHDAY** to the next arrival. They did, and he nearly fainted. June 4 was his birthday. And to top it off, he was Dr. William Ted Martin, head of the Mathematics Department of Massachusetts Institute of Technology!

Gad, I wish I could give cocktail parties like that!

Charlie Rice

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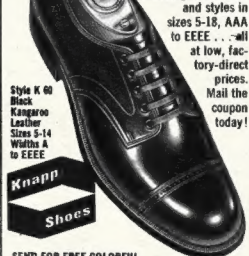
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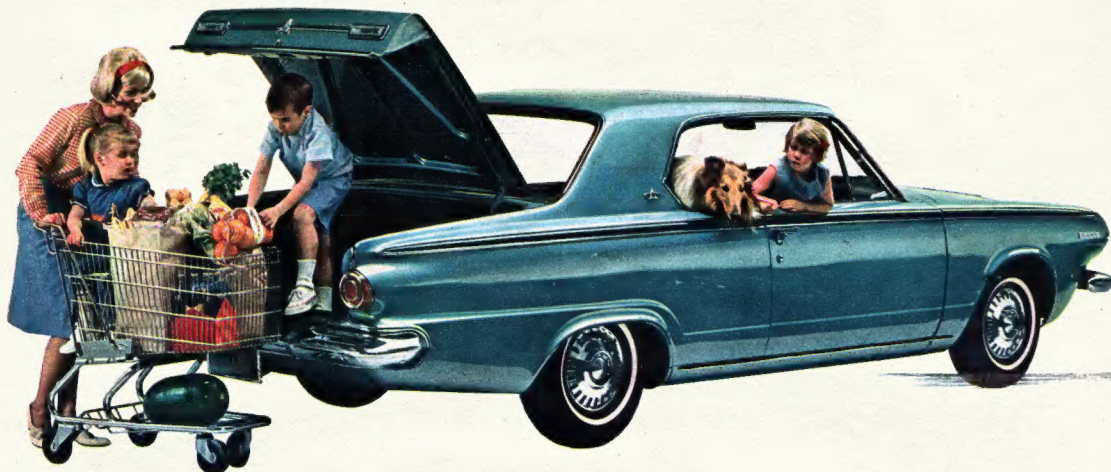
or spray it loose with Elmer's Slide-All



What's Elmer's Slide-All? A new, non-greasy spray lubricant that stops sticking, binding and squeaking without leaving a stain or oily film. It dries almost instantly, yet provides lasting lubrication. Why don't you get some? It's much better than a rock.

THE BORDEN CHEMICAL COMPANY

THE DEPENDABLES: SUCCESS CARS OF '64



Fits your style



without cramping it

A lot of bargains are like second-hand razor blades. You save a little money, but you lose a lot of face. There are, happily, a few exceptions. Case in point, the 1964 Dodge Dart.

Dodge Dart. A compact that's family-sized inside. Fun-sized outside. Trimmed with leather-grained vinyls that make more expensive cars blush. A compact that gives you your choice of

standard or bucket seats, carpet on the floor, and engines ranging from the Mobil Economy Run winning Six to a hot new V8.

If you like what Dart is, take a look at the way it looks. Doesn't look cut down, does it? It isn't. The trunk on a Dart is actually bigger than the one on many full-sized cars. And a family of five fits inside nicely.

That's Dart. The economy-sized compact. Roomy, maneuverable, and as easy on the eyes as it is the budget. Priced nose to nose with compacts that don't give you near as much. Room. Ride. Or pride of ownership either. If that's what you're looking for, take a Dart for a trial spin. There's one waiting for you at your Dodge Dealer's. Go see him.

Compact Dodge Dart

DODGE DIVISION



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